

NSC BRIEFING

POLAND

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- I. Gomulka's decision to break Poland's official silence on Hungarian executions and to take sharper line on Yugoslavia in speech at Gdansk last Saturday was probably in response to strong Soviet pressures to get into step with bloc on these two vital issues.
 - A. It is clear that Poles are highly nervous; they told Western correspondents to tone down their stories on Polish-Soviet relations.
 - B. Soviets reportedly told Poles they had had enough of semi-official demonstrations against Nagy verdict. (Chopin funeral march on radio and minute of silence observance by writers' union meeting.)
- II. Gomulka made sharpest Polish attack to date on Yugoslavia. He severely criticized "false and injurious" Yugoslav position toward Bloc which, he said, only serves aggressive aims of imperialists.
 - A. He expressed hope that Yugoslavia would abandon its false road since at present--contrary to situation in 1948-54--absolutely nothing justifies Yugoslavs' stand.
- III. Gomulka criticized Nagy as revisionist who capitulated to counter-revolutionaries during Hungarian uprising.
 - A. Nevertheless, he did not echo Bloc's charge that Nagy was responsible for "long-prepared conspiracy," and he avoided comment on justice or severity of verdict.
- IV. Gomulka has thus sought to appease Soviets by more enthusiastic attitude toward Communist orthodoxy and solidarity, while trying to avoid taking position on Nagy execution.

- A. Gomulka is probably still under pressure to take stronger stand on Nagy issue and may make further compromise statements to appease Kremlin, but will not capitulate on the fundamental principles of the Polish "road to socialism."
- B. Pravda has reprinted Gomulka's speech, emphasizing Bloc unity aspect.
- V. Yugoslav reaction to Gomulka's speech was mild - they said Gomulka's position was illogical.
 - A. The tone of this statement contrasted markedly with sharp Yugoslav replies to other bloc criticisms.

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VI.



- A. We feel, however, that Gomulka is merely accommodating to Soviet pressure on certain issues but that he still adheres to very important non-Stalinist principles:
 - 1. anti-collectivization of agriculture,
 - 2. modus vivendi with Church.